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former give muscular vigor and power, the latter wombs; *'amâmeh 'aṣabe w-ḫwâleh arḥâm.* 602 827

Among those connected by blood relationship, *eben al-'amm*, it is prohibited to bind a captured thief, *mâ 'alejh arrbâṭ*, or to attack after midnight or shortly before sunrise, which is the most favorable time for resting: *mamnû' 'alejhom al-bejât w-aṣ-ṣbâḥ*. The blood price is fixed at fifty camels, a mare, and armed equipment. 602

The blood relationship, *beni al-'amm*, at the wish of the chiefs is sometimes granted to clans who are not related by blood and who derive their origin from quite different ancestors. If the chiefs of two unrelated tribes, *barrâni* (or *aǧnabi*), are favorably disposed towards each other, they proclaim that they will bestow the right of kinship upon each other, *ḥakk al-beni'am* (or *ḥakk al-beni'ame* [sic]), as follows: "Between us and you there shall continue the friendship of kinsmen as between kinsmen related by blood; *bênana w-bênakom ṣadâḳat al-beni'ame ṣwât al-beni'am.*" As such it is their duty to protect each other's neighbor, *ḳaṣir*, guest, *ṣeji*, or fellow traveler, *ḥaci*, even though he should be their actual enemy. It is likewise their duty to acquaint each other with the movements of hostile troops. In reality such a friendship has no value if the chiefs do not pay heed to it. "It is fairly spoken but it brings no profit, *teṣliḥ al-ḥaċi min ṣejr manfa'a.*" If a member of one of these tribes kills a man of the other tribe, he does not pay the blood price amounting to fifty camels, such as is the custom with actual *beni 'ammeh*, but only seven, as in the case of unrelated tribes, *aǧnâb*. If a thief from such a tribe is caught, he may be fettered; moreover, such a tribe may also be attacked after midnight, which is not permissible with the actual *beni al-'amm*. 608 628

Âl and Ahl

According to the Rwala, their tribe is known as *ḳabîlet* (or *bedîdet*, or *'aširt*) *ar-rwala*, *'ašire* having the same meaning as *bedide* or *ḳabîle*. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word *âl*, which is often interchanged with the article *al*, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwejli. Generally the word *âl* denotes the same as *beni* or *eben*, its meaning being larger than that of *ahl*. *Ferîž* is the 101 601

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name given to a group of kindred descended from the same ancestor; a *ferîž* is also wider than an *ahl*.

The *ahl* (for which we shall use the word "kin," in a technical sense) is a group fixed in relation to the individual only, a man's kin differing from the kins of his father or son (although all three kins in this case would include many individuals in common). A man's kin comprises his descendants to the third generation — that is, his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons. It also includes his ascendants to the third generation — that is, his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather — and the descendants of these ascendants to the third generation from each. Descent is reckened through male lines only. Second cousins are the most remote collaterals that may belong to one's kin.

An easy way of determining whether X belongs to the same kin as Y is to count from X up to the common ancestor of both X and Y and thence to count down to Y. Provided not more than five individuals are thus counted between X and Y and provided, also, that the common ancestor is not separated from either X or Y by more than three generations, X and Y will belong to the same kin. This conception of the kin explains why every Bedouin knows his great-grandfather, whereas of his great-great-grandfather he is likely to be absolutely ignorant. My comrade Blejhân gave me the following explanation of his own kin: "I am the descendant of Ẓeri, who is descended from Meṣreb. Ẓeri begat Dâṛer and Ṣâleḥ. Dâṛer left Ibrâhîm and Baṛri. Ibrâhîm, my father, left me, that is Blejhân, Ǧî'ân, and 'Aŝwân, while Baṛri's sons were Defrân, Rašîd, and Meršed. Ṣâleḥ's sons were named Nedi and Ǧlejdân. Nedi begat Nejtûl and Ḏijâb; Ǧlejdân had Neǧîb and Ṣajjâḥ. All these are my relatives, my *ahl*, and nobody else. My father's *ahl* reached as far back as Naṣṣâr, the father of Ẓeri and 'Abdallâh, but the descendants of 'Abdallâh do not concern me at all; they will not protect me and I shall not protect them." Of Naṣṣâr's father Blejhân knew nothing at all, except that he was descended from Meṣreb's kin (and therefore was known as Eben Meṣreb) and that he had a brother, Ma'rûf by name. But how many generations there were between Meṣreb and him neither Blejhân nor anybody in his whole kin could tell. Blejhân counted himself as being thrice removed from his first-cousin, Defrân (i. e. by (1) his father, (2) his grandfather, and (3) his uncle). Similarly he

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counted himself five times removed from his second cousin, Neǧîb. The older a man grows, the more extended is the circle of his relatives, provided, of course, that he begets sons, for his *ahl* then comprises not only his father and grandfather, if living, and his collaterals, but also his sons and grandsons.

The *ahl* of a Rwejli protects him from injustice and suffers for his guilt. The representative of this blood relationship is likewise known as *ahl*. This representative, that is, the *ahl* in the narrower sense of the word, is usually either the father, the uncle, or the elder brother. Sa'ûd, the son of Prince an-Nûri, had a tent of his own; if he said: "I shall go to my *ahl*," he never went into his own tent but into that of his father, Prince an-Nûri. If the latter was not present, he hastened to his older brother, Nawwâf. A solemn proclamation that somebody has been received into such and such an *ahl* may take the place of blood relationship.

The *ahl al-bejt* denotes the wife of a tent-owner or the wife of his brother, the whole tent being under her control. The phrase *ahl al-bejt* is interchangeable with *râ'ijet al-bejt*, the mistress of the tent. A guest calls for *ahl al-bejt* if he wishes to have a covering for his bed. The Bedouin living in a tent of his own calls his wife *ahl al-bejt*, *ahl bejti*, or *râ'ijet bejti*. If he has children they also belong to the *ahl al-bejt*. The wife never calls her husband *ahl al-bejt* or *ahl bejti*, but *râ'i-l-bejt* or *râ'i bejtena*, lord of the tent, lord of our tent. If she has a little boy, she refers to her husband as *abu flân*, the father of So and So. As long as the Rwejli lives in his father's tent it is impossible to speak of his *ahl al-bejt*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the family, *ahl*, of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his tent, it is known as the tent of the sons of So and So, *bejt 'ejâl flân*, or the tent of their mother, if she is alive. The *ahl al-bejt* of such a tent is either the old mother or the wife of one of the brothers who has charge of the tent. If the wife of the oldest brother cannot agree with the wives of the remaining brothers, her husband says to her: "Thou shalt stay in this corner and from today onwards the *ahl al-bejt* (*râ'ijet al-bejt*) will be So and So." Among the Rwala the *ahl al-bejt* is the same as the *'ajle* of the other tribes.

In its broader significance *ahl* denotes distinct tribes that are generally united for their mutual protection. Thus it is

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619 possible to speak of the Ahl al-Ğebel, by which are understood the various tribes of diverse origin that encamp in the eastern and southern parts of the Ḥawrân mountain range. *Ahl ad-ḏire* are the inhabitants of various villages who never leave their territory, Ahâli-l-Kerak are the various tribes forming the population of the town of Kerak, and so on.

594 The *ʿajle* indicates a family which has a house and hearth of its own, *al-ʿajle ahl al-ğdâr w-an-nâr*. Any settler who has a house of his own and in it a wife who cooks for him is said to have his *ʿajle*.

● 601 The word *ḏurrijje*, descendants, is replaced among the Rwala by the word *ẓana*, which designates very distant descendants, irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or the relationship is due to adoption.

CHIEFS

622 The word *ḳowm* indicates the Bedouins ruled by a chief. Thus it is possible to say: "*Ḳowm eben šaʿlân*, he is of the *ḳowm* of Eben Šaʿlân"; "the *ḳowm* of Eben Meʿğel are encamped there; the *ḳowm* of Eben Ğandal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as: "That is the *ḳowm* of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the *ḳowm* of the Freğe" will never be heard. When Prince Eben Šaʿlân speaks of *ğemâʿaṭi* he is thinking of the various tribes who obey his orders and who hasten to his assistance, *jefzaʿûn*. *Ğemâʿa* is almost the same as *ḳowm*.

The rank of chief is hereditary in a definite house, *âl*. It is usual to recognize as chief that member who is most suitable by reason of his mental and physical qualities, nor need he be the oldest in the ruling house. Among the clans and tribes ruling houses persist as such until they die out, although their power may have become extremely weak and many families may have deserted them. A head chief or 643 prince to whom the other chiefs have submitted either of their own free will or under compulsion and who represents a whole tribe or group of tribes is overthrown more frequently than an ordinary chief, and his rank passes to another kin. This most frequently happens if the hereditary head chief is not distinguished by warlike ability. He then directs the external affairs of his tribe as *šejḫ al-bâb*, while affairs of war are left to a man renowned for his courage and prudence

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There are no special wedding ceremonies. Part of the meat from the slaughtered she-camel is distributed among the members of the bride's kin and acquaintances, the rest is served for supper in the bridegroom's tent. Nobody is invited, nobody brings any wedding presents. There is no party, no dancing; neither the girls nor women sing or shout with joy. Often even the relatives of either the bridegroom or the bride do not know that there is going to be or has been a wedding. Neither does the slaughtering of a she-camel signify anything especially important, because an old or wounded animal is killed quite frequently. The tiny round tent, *ḥeğra*, alone shows that there has been a wedding. But if it was put up at sunset and the camp moves elsewhere next morning nobody takes notice of it, except perhaps the nearest neighbors.

The morning after the wedding night the bridegroom goes to the men's compartment, *rab'a*, of his family tent, where he is saluted with the words: "Be blessed, may good be thy portion! *lâfi 'alejk al-ḫejr*." The bride is likewise visited by the women, who greet her: "Mayest thou bring good to thy cousin!" The young bride receives a gift from her father-in-law, then leaves the *ḥeğra* to join the other women of her husband's family in the tent, although she need not work for seven days after the wedding. Her husband attends to his work as usual, also buying her trousseau, which consists of various blankets and rugs, as, for instance, the *bsâṭ*, wool carpet, *nasije*, thin fabric rug, *siğâde*, prayer carpet, *lḥâf*, European quilts, and of dresses and kerchiefs. The trousseau is given to the wife after, never before, the wedding night, *el-ja-'ras 'alejha*, and she is not obliged to return it.

If a widow or a divorced woman marries again, she is free from work for three days only.

When a man marries for the first time he stays with his wife for seven nights, but if he already has another wife he devotes himself to her also.

A young husband is greeted with the words: "Blessed be the tent! *mbârak al-bejt*," his answer being: "May (Allâh) bless thee still more! *bâreč lak bel-mubârak*." When speaking of a woman's husband the word *rağolha*, her man, is used; of a man's wife, *mruteh* (or *ḥurmeteh*), his wife; and the husband addresses his wife as *râ'ijet bejtena*, the mistress of our tent.

The Rwala usually have only one woman in a tent, seldom

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should the guest fail to tip them well on his departure, they will not deign to notice him when he comes again. They are very eager to share in the raids, loot, of course, being their main object. All the horses captured by the slave must be delivered to his master, who, however, is obliged to give the slave a camel for every horse. One half of the captured camels go to the master, the others are the slave's share. 567

The little sons of the chiefs are brought up by the slaves; they make friends with the slaves' sons, and everything that they do is on the advice of the slaves and with their assistance. The slave is frequently the confidant of the first love of his master's son, negotiates with the girl's kin, protects his wife and children in a rebellion or hostile invasion, and is often the real guardian of his master's orphans, whom he also assists to regain their power and property. When the master's daughter marries into another tribe, as a rule she is accompanied thither by a reliable slave. 855 567

The slaves are the main support of the chief: they protect him against a sudden attack and execute any order he may give. Yet nobody deposes or kills a chief so readily or more frequently than his own slaves. In the disputes which sometimes arise between the members of ruling houses the decision lies with the slaves, so that a weak chief often is nothing but a tool in their hands. In camp every slave has a certain place allotted to him for his tent. They completely surround their chief's tent and in this manner prevent the entrance of unbidden guests. Whoever wishes his affair to succeed with the chief must first gain the head slave's favor. This man never opposes his master, but he generally arranges matters in such a way that in the end the chief cannot avoid endorsing every thing the slaves may desire. 622 567

The slaves call their master uncle, *'amm*, claiming to be *beni al-'amm*, relatives or cousins, of his kin. The imperative "*semm*," "Mention!" or "Order!" is used by the slave, by a raider, and even by a Bedouin, when his master or chief calls for him; it is an invitation to the master to make known his wish or command. 601 567

Among themselves the slaves have kin, *ahl*, like the Bedouins. They form marital ties without paying any heed to their master, only the consent of their own kin being necessary in this case. The master has no right to choose a wife for his slave or to take her away from him. Killing and 567 627

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rousing their wrath to the highest pitch. If twenty camels are to be watered from a well in which the water accumulates but slowly, five men must work hard for full four hours. No wonder, then, that the waterers pray Allâh to help them do their task quickly and Himself to fill the necessary utensils, *'edâd*, with water.

Jâ rzajjelen bumm iden Oh, that gazelle in Umm Iden!
jetli maṭabb al-mizen. She goes there where rain fell from the clouds.

The Bedouins carefully watch the rain clouds to judge their direction and where their sluices may open. They even send a watcher to follow them and, if he comes back with a favorable report (i.e. that the rain has been abundant) they move to the place with all their herds. Thus a little gazelle, a maiden drawing water from the rain pool by Umm Iden, had come there after having followed the rain cloud which had filled the pool.

Jâ mizen ar-ra'âdi O thou cloud rumbling with thunder!
emṭer 'ala-l-ḥamâdi. On al-Ḥamâd let down thy rain.

Al-Ḥamâd is the western half of north Arabian desert between Palmyra and the Nefûd.

Al-bîr tabṛi ḥâder Into the well should descend
eben ḥalâ'en žâder. A son of honest parents, a strong one.

An *eben ḥalâl* is a man against whose father there is no reproach and on whose mother's name there is no stain. The water in the well is clear, for it flows from a clear spring; therefore it should be drawn only by a man whose face and origin are clean and pure.

Welli 'aǧûzen šība Run from the gray-haired woman!
allâh jikṭa' naṣîbah May Allâh cut her fate, for
ted'i 'ala naṣîbah. She curses her son-in-law.

Allâh cuts someone's fate if he visits him with death. *Ted'i 'ala*, she calls upon or implores, is used in both a good and bad sense. *Naṣîb* is the name that a mother gives not only to the man who has married her daughter but also to a man who as yet only calls on the daughter.